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## Soviet Russia versus Nazi Germany: A study in contrasts

Corliss Lamont

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SOVIET  
RUSSIA

*versus*

NAZI  
GERMANY

*Corliss Lamont*

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*A study in contrasts*  
by CORLISS LAMONT

*Published by*

THE AMERICAN COUNCIL ON SOVIET RELATIONS

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## FOREWORD

THE American Council on Soviet Relations, founded in 1938 to further cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union, believes that understanding of the U. S. S. R. in the present world crisis will be advanced by this study summarizing the ten chief differences between Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany. A similar study was first prepared by Dr. Corliss Lamont in the summer of 1939 and was circulated to some extent at that time. He has now re-written it in the light of events over the past two years. The brevity and form of Dr. Lamont's essay show that it is not meant, of course, to be all-inclusive, but rather to serve as a stimulus and guide to investigation of the entire subject.

The American Council feels that it is appropriate to use as an introduction for this pamphlet the address which Dr. Lamont delivered in Madison Square Garden, New York City, on July 12, 1941, as Chairman of the Council's mass meeting on behalf of American-Soviet cooperation to defeat Hitler.



### *Note on the Third Edition*

*Subsequent to the first publication of this pamphlet in August, 1941, the Soviet army and the Soviet people, with magnificent courage and skill, carried through their mighty counter-offensive against the Nazis in the winter of 1941-42 and held off Hitler for a second summer at Stalingrad and in the Caucasus. During this same period the United States, following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, entered the war against the Axis powers and sent its armed forces to fight the Fascist foe in many different parts of the earth. These developments in the great world crisis of our time have necessitated a few changes in this pamphlet, but it remains substantially the same. And the need of the American people to understand fully their Soviet ally has become even more imperative.*

*November, 1942.*



## INTRODUCTION

THIS gathering here tonight under the auspices of the American Council on Soviet Relations is, I believe, one of the most significant meetings that has ever been held in the long history of Madison Square Garden. We are assembled together this evening because finally and unmistakably the American people, of every political and religious affiliation, are face to face with the greatest issue of these times: whether or not Adolf Hitler and his Nazi mechanical men will succeed in enslaving the peoples of the earth under the horror of fascist dictatorship. You know what the answer is; you know that the answer is a hundred-times, a thousand-times NO. And in giving this emphatic NO, we in this great hall tonight express the sentiments of at least 90 per cent of the American people. We need no Gallup polls to tell us that.

The ferocious Nazi attack upon the Soviet Union brings home to us in the United States more than ever before the full meaning of Hitler and Hitlerism. As long as the Soviet Union was able to maintain its neutrality, to keep on developing in peace and plenty its new socialist society, there remained an immense and powerful country, stretching far over both Europe and Asia, that stood outside this terrible war as a beacon of light and hope for the stricken nations of the world. But if Soviet Russia itself is now overcome by the Nazi onslaught, the greatest bulwark against fascism on the continents of Europe and Asia goes down. And that will be one of the most evil days that ever fell upon mankind. This must not, this cannot, this *shall* not happen.

For us in America the issue is clear. We cannot afford to see Hitler's brutalitarians conquer the U. S. S. R. When a great nation of almost 200 million people enters a great war, naturally the situation changes to a great extent. And when this nation happens to be the Soviet Union, with its record of progress and



its ideals of peace and democracy, the situation changes to an even greater extent. We talk today about mobile armies, armies that can move and maneuver swiftly. There must be and are such armies to stop Hitler. But mobile *minds* are just as important, minds that keep pace with events, acute and flexible and realistic minds that know today is not yesterday and the fragrant summer of 1941 not like any summer that has ever occurred in history.

Specifically, ask yourselves how you would like to see the rich grain fields and material resources of the Ukraine at the disposal of the Nazis. Ask yourselves, improbable as this idea is, how you would like to see the ruthless militarists of Germany in control of eastern Siberia and constructing air bases near Bering Strait where the island frontiers of the Soviet Union and America's Alaska are separated by only two miles of water. Ask yourselves how you would like to see the Japanese invaders finally inflict defeat on the Chinese Republic, whose chief supporter, during these entire four years of invasion, in both a moral and material sense, has been Soviet Russia.

Every consideration of American defense and intelligent self-interest demands that President Roosevelt's policy of cooperation with the Soviet Union during this new crisis be carried out to the full. This American Council, ever since its inception several years ago, has been urging closer relations between these two great countries, the United States and Russia. Now, the dramatic events of the past two weeks make such collaboration an absolute necessity. Those events do not, in my opinion, call for American entrance into the World War; but they do demand, in addition to continued aid for Great Britain, immediate and effective cooperation, both diplomatic and economic, with the Soviet Union, fighting to the death against the enemy of all humanity. In fact, our Government is already starting such cooperation; and it is reported that the Soviet Government, through Foreign Minister



Molotov, has expressed its satisfaction with the steps being taken.

In supporting the Soviet Union in this tremendous ordeal, there is no need for any American to support the particular economic and political system that exists in the U. S. S. R. In this huge arena tonight there are men and women of varying political persuasion, of varying religious faith, of varying national and racial origin. The end upon which we all unite is that we want to stop Hitler and *smash* Hitler, now and forever. Even those of us who have been frankly sympathetic to the Soviet Union have never claimed that it is a Utopia. Certainly it has made its mistakes.

Yes, there are plenty of things to criticize about Soviet socialism. But those things are irrelevant to the great issue that is before us. Russia is fighting the Nazis; Russia provides the manpower and the continental base for defeating the Nazis; Russia's fight is everyone's fight who wishes the fascist scourge wiped from the face of the earth. And if Americans at this critical moment let themselves be confused by talk about the menace of communism and the wickedness of Joseph Stalin, they will be playing Hitler's game. For one of his big reasons in invading Russia was precisely to try and split public opinion in England and the United States and to bring about another Munich appeasement settlement at the expense of the U. S. S. R. The Munich conference resulted disastrously for the Western democracies. And these democracies must not again fall for Hitler's vicious propaganda, though it is already being peddled about by certain American newspapers and certain American political leaders.

There are, in addition, a few points about the Soviet Union itself that ought to be made clear. First and foremost, the Soviet Union is and has been, since Mussolini seized the government of Italy back in 1922, fundamentally and consistently anti-Fascist and anti-Nazi. Soviet Russia has made numerous treaties and



non-aggression pacts for good and sufficient reasons which I shall not attempt to review here. But it has always remained opposed to fascism in its every variety, whether Italian or German or Spanish or Japanese or French or any other kind. However, the Russians know what we all know—that every form of fascism is today dependent, directly or indirectly, on the continued existence and strength of German Nazism. So the all-important battle is against Hitler, who has reached the climax of his attempt at world dominion in his all-important battle against the Soviets.

These various considerations show how false and malicious is the charge that Soviet socialism and fascism are essentially the same. In fact, these two systems are at opposite poles. Here again is a theme that this American Council on Soviet Relations has been pounding away on for years. Like all those who have tried to spread the truth about Soviet Russia during recent times, we have taken something of a beating at the hands of a hostile press and a doubting public. Now life itself comes to prove us right. And I promise you that no matter what the future holds in store, no matter what the shifts may be in public opinion, this organization will continue to tell the truth about the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. That is our job and that is our pledge.

I have myself travelled through that beautiful and abundant Soviet land that is now the scene of terrific and titanic combat between millions of soldiers and tanks and airplanes. Let me try to tell you something of what the Soviet Union is like by reading the "Song of the Motherland" that is so popular among the Soviet people:

*Like the opulent Volga,  
Everywhere our life flows free and broad—  
Our native land is vast;  
She has many forests, fields and rivers.  
I know of no other country where men can breathe so freely.*



*Our proudest and dearest word is Comrade.  
We are friends of all races;  
Everywhere we are at home.  
The word Comrade has swept away the barrier between black  
and white;  
We have dear friends in all the world.*

*How vast is our native land!  
Its fields no eye can contain;  
You cannot remember all our cities.  
For youth all roads are open;  
And the aged are respected.  
All are welcome to our table—  
Humanity is master in our great motherland.*

*In golden letters we have written our Constitution.  
The glory of its law no years will erase;  
Man will always have the right to learn, to work, to rest.*

*Yes, a spring breeze blows across our great land.  
Each day life grows more joyful with us.  
Who knows better than we how to laugh and to love?*

*Yet if an enemy should think to attack us, let him beware.  
Sternly will we answer him;  
We are always ready to crush him.  
We love our country like a bride—  
We will guard her like a mother.*

Yes, let the Nazi enemy beware. And let those gentlemen in our own country, some of them pro-Hitler, some just ignorant, who keep harping on the alleged weakness of the Soviet Union and predicting its collapse within three weeks—let them be careful of the bets they make. Russia, almost three times the size of

China, is a difficult country to conquer. Armies that invade it find it easier to get in than to get out. However, I do not think myself that the campaign of Napoleon is going to be repeated. For Hitler will never get as far as Moscow.

With the active cooperation of Britain and America, with the help and hopes of all the free peoples of the earth, we know that the Soviet people will not fail. There will be disappointments; there will be defeats; there may be a war of long duration. But the Soviets will never yield. They will fight on their plains, they will fight in their mountains, they will fight along their rivers, their lakes and their seas, till the trampling march of Nazi power dies away into the silence of history.



## THE CONTRASTS

# *1. The Ideal of International Peace and Cooperation*

## SOVIET RUSSIA

IN the early dawn of June 22, 1941, Nazi Germany brought the present agony of humanity to a new climax by launching its unprovoked attack upon the Soviet Union. And the U. S. S. R. found itself, against its repeatedly expressed will, plunged into that World War which for years it did its best to prevent.

All through the pre-war period of fascist aggression Soviet Russia supported the principle, supposedly embodied in the League of Nations, that peace is indivisible and can be preserved only through genuine collective security, that is, a banding together of the peace-loving nations in their overwhelming might and in uncompromising readiness to invoke economic, and, in case of necessity, military sanctions against aggressors. In addition, the Soviet Government fought strenuously for real disarmament at Geneva and made continued efforts to build up friendly diplomatic and trade relations with all countries that would reciprocate.

Soviet Russia was foremost in carrying out its obligations, in the spirit of the League covenant, toward the victims of fascist aggression. It strongly advocated complete sanctions against Italy in the Ethiopian war. It was the one country that consistently supported the Spanish Loyalists in their struggle against Fascist-Nazi invasion, exposing the farce of "non-intervention" and sending material aid of all sorts. And since 1937, and continuing now despite its life-and-death ordeal in the West, the U. S. S. R. has been the chief supporter of the Chinese Republic in the way of economy and military supplies. With the increas-



## 1. *Permanently Geared to War and Conquest*

### NAZI GERMANY

THE primary objective of Nazi Germany in international affairs is the conquest of new territories and outright world domination through the means of treacherous diplomacy and aggressive war. As Adolf Hitler himself says in *Mein Kampf*: "The ideas of pacifism and humanity may be quite good after the supreme race has conquered the world in such a way as makes him its exclusive master." In Hitler's mind of course this "supreme race" is none other than the Germans, whose all-time supreme representative he considers himself to be.

The Nazi Government tears up treaties whenever convenient. Thus it treated as scraps of paper its obligations under the Versailles Treaty, the League of Nations and the Kellogg Peace Pact. Through the tactic of blackmail and brigandage it seized Austria, the Sudetenland, the remainder of Czechoslovakia and Memel. It openly collaborated with Mussolini in the invasion and overthrow of Loyalist Spain. It annulled its naval treaty with Great Britain. And it violated through ruthless military assault the non-aggression pacts with Poland and the Soviet Union.

Hitler's partners in crime have followed the same sort of policy. Fascist Italy invaded Ethiopia in 1935, led the attack on Spain from 1936 to 1939, sacked Albania in the spring of 1939 and stabbed France and England in the back in the summer of 1940. In the Far East Japan started the original fascist offensive against world peace by its Manchurian adventure in 1931, proceeded to outright war against the whole of China beginning



ing boldness of the Fascist states and the increasing inactivity of the League, the Soviet Government concluded mutual assistance pacts with France, Czechoslovakia and the Mongolian People's Republic.

The fact is that all during this time the appeasement governments of Britain and France, ably assisted by reactionary circles in the United States, sabotaged collective security and successively sold out Spain, China, Austria, and Czechoslovakia. The Soviet Union repeatedly called for conferences of the anti-aggressor countries to take definite and effective measures to halt Hitler, but was consistently rebuffed. Even in the spring of 1938, after the Nazis had seized all of Czechoslovakia, Prime Minister Chamberlain dismissed the Soviet appeal for a conference as "premature." Nevertheless, the U. S. S. R. continued to make sincere but futile attempts to work out a genuine peace front with the French and English governments, which on their part sought to the very end to solve their problems by letting Hitler expand eastward at the expense of the Soviets.

Had Prime Minister Churchill and his group been in control of the British Government, it is probable that a solid peace front against Nazi aggression would have been formed. As it was, the Russians finally felt that the situation had become hopeless and, in order to protect themselves, signed the non-aggression pact with Germany toward the end of August, 1939. For nearly two years after the European war had broken out the Soviet Union maintained its neutrality and followed a foreign policy that was both independent and dynamic.

The U. S. S. R. constantly tried to limit the spread of the war and at the same time steadily improved its defensive position in the West. The White Russian and Ukrainian portions of Poland, the Baltic states, Bessarabia and a part of Finland became incorporated into the Soviet Union. This extension of the Soviet boundaries constituted a real strategic defeat for the Nazis in the



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with 1937 and brought its infamies to a climax by its onslaught in December of 1941 against the United States, the Dutch East Indies and the British Commonwealth of Nations. The Japanese fascists, who have brought ruin to vast sections of China and slaughter to millions of Chinese, now threaten the life and liberty of all the free peoples in the region of the Pacific and Indian Oceans.

Unhappily, up until the outbreak of the Second World War in the fall of 1939, the western democracies of England, France and the United States actually aided and abetted fascist aggression through the policy of appeasement. This method of meeting the Axis menace reached its culmination in the fatal Munich settlement of September, 1938. The appeasers were motivated by the hope that the fascist juggernaut, in both West and East, would turn itself against Soviet socialism; and by the fear that a stern stand against Hitler and Mussolini might weaken the fascist regimes and bring into power genuinely democratic and anti-imperialist people's governments in Europe and perhaps in some of the colonial areas. Though the complete failure of appeasement became manifest with the catastrophe of a general war, the democracies continued even after that time to follow this policy toward fascist Spain and Japan.

The entire economy of Nazi Germany and the other fascist states is geared to the production of ever vaster armaments and the practice of ever more brutal aggression. With the growing impoverishment of their peoples and the increasing economic strains at home, the fascist governments have tried to ease domestic pressures through outward expansion and to divert the attention of their restive populations by means of foreign aggrandizement played up as a noble and glamorous adventure.

The fascist leaders frankly give praise to war as one of the finer things of life. Hitler asserts that "in eternal struggle humanity has grown to greatness; in eternal peace it will go down



East and, among other things, reacted favorably on the British defense effort by keeping the German General Staff nervous and causing it to maintain well over a million troops, together with large quantities of military equipment, along the eastern frontier.

When the Nazis attacked in the summer of 1941, these new Soviet territories functioned as a very necessary and successful buffer against the first surprise onslaught. The Finnish Government demonstrated its natural affinity for fascism by lining up with Hitler. But the Finnish and Nazi troops found that Leningrad was 75 miles away from the frontier instead of a mere 20 miles, as before the Soviet-Finnish war of 1939-40.

When the Second World War comes to an end the Soviet Union can be depended upon to help establish permanent peace. The U. S. S. R. wants to proceed with its great Five-Year plans and the building of socialism. Its planned socialist society has cut away the economic roots of war; and the economic activity of the country has no need for the stimulus of armaments and Armageddon. As a Socialist Republic Soviet Russia has always stood for the ideal of a peaceful, international order in which there is full equality and democracy between the different races and nations, and in which all mankind enjoys an abundant life of freedom, happiness and progress upon this earth.



## NAZI GERMANY

to destruction." Mussolini states: "War is to man what maternity is to woman. We reject the absurdity of eternal peace, which is foreign to our creed and temperament." His son Vittorio calls war "the most complete and beautiful of all sports." There cannot be the slightest doubt that fascism intends war, wages war, *is* war.

No one can deny that the fascist nations, under the leadership of Nazi Germany, have been eminently successful in demonstrating to mankind exactly how beautiful and glorious and sporting is modern war, both in its *blitzkrieg* and other forms.

Adolf Hitler and his various henchmen in foreign lands have transformed the pleasant and plentiful continent of Europe into an appalling combination of slaughter-house and cemetery, prison and desert. All the Nazi-ruled peoples of Europe, including the Germans themselves, are quite literally *prisoners of war*, held in chains by ruthless jailers, cruelly beaten by the inhuman Gestapo, starved and half-starved, dying in multitudes from disease and malnutrition, pushed down further and further into the dirt and mire of a civilization in ruins.

On the other side of the world, in China and the Far East in general, the Japanese fascists have likewise done their brutal best in depopulating the earth and holding high the banner of barbarism.



## 2. *A Free Brotherhood of Peoples*

### SOVIET RUSSIA

ONE week after Lenin and the Communists took power in 1917, the Soviet Government issued a decree proclaiming equality and free development for all distinct national and racial groups within the confines of the U. S. S. R. This has been the Soviet policy ever since. And equal rights for the different nationalities and races of the U. S. S. R. was re-asserted as "an irrevocable law" in the new Soviet Constitution of 1936.

This Constitution states: "Any direct or indirect limitations of these rights, or conversely, any establishment of direct or indirect privileges for citizens on account of their race or nationality, as well as any propagation of racial or national exclusiveness or hatred and contempt, shall be punishable by law." The Supreme Congress of the country has a Soviet of Nationalities equal in all respects to the other legislative chamber.

There can be no doubt that the constitutional provisions on racial and national equality, exactly reversing the old tsarist policies, have already been fully actualized in the life of the U. S. S. R. The many different minority groups, their economic antagonisms ended because of the security and well-being guaranteed by socialism, now live in happiness and harmony, each with its own language, its own schools and its own institutions in general. The result has been a veritable renaissance of minority arts and cultures in Russia along the lines of the general principle "national in form and socialist in content."

The Soviet attitude toward the Jews is particularly striking in the light of the long history of discriminations, indignities and pogroms to which they were subject in tsarist times. Today



## 2. *Ruthless Persecution of Minorities*

### NAZI GERMANY

THE subordination and persecution of national and racial minorities is a fundamental and intrinsic part of the Nazi program and philosophy. The treatment of the Jews in Hitler's Germany is of course the outstanding example. In their anti-Semitic excesses the Nazis have outdone even the Russian tsars. German Jews today, solely on the grounds of racial origin, have been denied by law the most elementary political, economic and social rights; they have been degraded, segregated, exiled, boycotted, robbed, imprisoned and killed in cold blood.

As a domestic policy the official inculcation and carrying through of racial chauvinism in Germany aims to deflect into a blind alley the growing unrest of the people over their economic and other difficulties. At the same time the stirring up of racial animosities abroad weakens unity against Nazi aggression and sows the fatal seeds of fascism in other lands.

The Nazi racist doctrines, as contrary to scientific truth as to moral principle, go far beyond legitimate national pride in the historical achievements of the German people and glorify the pure "Aryan" Germans as the chosen of the earth, superior to all other peoples and therefore rightfully entitled to rule the globe. The foundation-stone of Nazi politics, ethics and biology is a colossal conceit unmatched in all history.

Thus the concept of the brotherhood of man and the equality of nations can have no possible place in the Nazi philosophy. It is not just Jews who are held in contempt. At the 1936 Olympic Games Nazi officials accused America of bad sportsmanship for entering "fleet-footed animals," that is, Negroes, in the races.



anti-Semitism is not only officially a crime, but has become practically non-existent.

Everywhere in the Soviet Union Jews are living on terms of security and equality with their fellow-citizens. And the Soviet Government has established the special Autonomous Region of Biro-Bidjan, where all Jews who so wish may make their home and freely develop their own economy and culture.

An essential part of Soviet policy toward its minorities has been special emphasis on their economic development which is recognized as the necessary basis for full cultural development. Accordingly, during the Five-Year Plans, economic progress in the outlying republics such as those of Armenia and Georgia and Kazakhstan has been much greater than in the U. S. S. R. taken as a whole.

Unquestionably the Soviet spirit of racial equality and freedom, recently re-asserted by Premier Stalin himself, has been a most potent factor in the united and unshakable morale of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. in withstanding the Nazis.



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The subject Czechs, Poles, Belgians, Dutch, French, Yugoslavs and other conquered peoples in Hitler's "new order" are looked down upon as degenerate and treated as serfs under a regime of terror. And the Nazis regard as inferior not only their enemies like the English, Russians and Americans, but also Germany's allies such as the Italians, Rumanians and Japanese.

In contrast with the Soviet policy of stimulating all-round cultural and economic development among all national groups and giving them favored treatment toward this end, the Nazi plan and practice is to arrest and turn back the cultural and economic life of the minorities they control. Hitler frankly envisages transforming the occupied regions of Europe into colonial areas to serve the higher "civilization" of Nazi Germany. On the other hand, the new peoples who entered into the Soviet Union following 1939 were given every opportunity for self-development and enjoyed full democratic representation in the All-Soviet legislative bodies on an equal basis with the republics that had been part of the U. S. S. R. from the start.



### 3. *A Socialized Economy Operated for Use*

#### SOVIET RUSSIA

IN the Soviet Union, while there still exists an infinitesimal percentage of private enterprise, the land, the natural resources, the industries and the means of distribution are collectively owned and administered for the benefit of the people as a whole. The successful collectivization of agriculture, that is, the merging of some 25,000,000 peasant holdings into about 250,000 big mechanized, cooperative farms, meant a far-reaching agrarian revolution in Russia fully equal in importance to the socialization and up-building of industry.

The economic facilities of the Soviet Republic are operated for use and not for profit. The basic principle is that there should be no exploitation of the labor of others. The chief goals of the economic system are the provision to every individual of more and more consumers' goods, that is, *personal* property like clothes, houses, furniture and automobiles; and the development of those state and community enterprises which make for the well-being of the entire population.

The citizens of Soviet Russia work, not with the motive of piling up personal fortunes, but in order to achieve a life of security, abundance and beauty for themselves and for the *community as a whole*. In place of the profit motive in the U. S. S. R. there is the motto, "Each for all and all for each." And the fundamental economic forces support and encourage the more social-minded motivations, instead of contradicting and counteracting them.



### 3. *A Monopolist Economy Run for Profits*

#### NAZI GERMANY

THERE has been no basic change in property relations in Nazi Germany, since the main means of production and distribution are still in the hands of individual capitalists, whether we consider industry, agriculture, banking, or any other section of the economy. The decisive economic power in the nation is wielded by a small group of reactionary businessmen, in particular the armament monopolists. Economic enterprise is undeniably run for profits and super-profits at the expense of the well-being of the people as a whole.

That sure sign and indubitable symbol of a capitalist order, the Stock Exchange, functions in its accustomed manner in the heart of Berlin.

Though state controls are more extensive in the fascist nations than in other capitalist lands, these controls are exercised largely on behalf of the armament and heavy-industry capitalists and the large land-owners. Such controls have in no sense overcome, but on the contrary have intensified, the fundamental contradictions inherent in the fascist economies.

In order to deceive the German people and to exploit whatever anti-capitalist feeling exists among them, Hitler has from the beginning used the demagogic slogan of "National Socialism."

But the Nazis' ersatz "socialism" resembles true socialism about as much as the Fuehrer's literary style does Shakespeare.



## 4. *Socialist Planning for Abundance*

### SOVIET RUSSIA

DEMOCRATICALLY administered socialist planning in Soviet Russia has for its aim the achievement of a life of security and abundance for all of the people. Since the start of the Five-Year Plans in 1928, the standard of living has risen rapidly throughout the U. S. S. R., with socialism becoming successfully and solidly established in every sphere of the economy.

During the Second Five-Year Plan, 1933-37, consumers' goods and producers' wages more than doubled. The volume of industrial output rose to 800 per cent above 1913 and became second only to that of the United States. The harvests in this period were the largest in the country's history. Famine and the threat of famine, for centuries the major economic evil in old Russia, have become merely bad memories.

The greatest triumph of Soviet planning is that through its controls over production, money, wages and prices, it is able to keep production and consumption in harmony by ensuring that the people always have the purchasing power to buy back the goods they produce. Through this means depression and unemployment appear to have been permanently abolished in the U. S. S. R. And the Constitution takes the unprecedented step of guaranteeing a job and material security to everyone.

In the first three years of the Third Five-Year Plan, which extends through 1942, industrial production increased 44 per cent, with pay-rolls expanding about the same degree. If 1929, the last pre-crisis year of capitalism, is taken as 100, Soviet production had in 1940 reached 534, as compared with a figure of 111 for the United States. Had the Soviet Union not



## 4. *Totalitarian Planning for War*

### NAZI GERMANY

WHATEVER degree of planning exists within Nazi Germany is planning for the express purpose of arming the nation and preparing for continued aggression. This means in effect planning for poverty as well as for war, since the workers are expected and required to subordinate their whole existence to the needs of the state for enhanced military resources. Living standards and real wages in Germany, Italy and Japan have in fact steadily declined. Due to this and to the program of longer hours and industrial speed-up the health of the people under fascism increasingly deteriorates.

The foreign trade of the Nazi state is of course adjusted entirely to its tremendous armaments program, with General Goering's famous phrase, "Cannon instead of butter," as the basic slogan. Since the outbreak of the war there has been a further sharp reduction in the quantity and quality of food available to the German people, while in the conquered countries millions are faced with starvation.

A recent story in *PM* on conditions in Germany stated: "Shortage of food has added to the restlessness engendered by the war. Meat rations have been cut from a pound a week to three-fifths of a pound. The ordinary civilian cannot even get his full ration of bread. The loot from the countries the Nazis have previously conquered has been eaten up. . . ."

The intense industrial activity and lack of unemployment in the Third Reich are primarily due to the stimulus of armaments and war and do not indicate any lasting way out of fundamental economic difficulties. The armaments boom, piling up ever more



been compelled to put so much energy into defense production, its consumer standard of living would have risen much higher even than it has. The general efficiency of Soviet economic organization and its ability to turn out the products of modern technology have been shown dramatically in the hard hitting mechanized warfare of the Soviet army, utilizing vast quantities of airplanes, tanks and motorized equipment against the highly developed Nazi military machine.

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astronomical figures of public debt, cannot of course continue indefinitely. And the war itself, while temporarily driving into the background some of the long-range economic problems, daily makes those problems less susceptible of ultimate solution and creates new ones of catastrophic proportions. Whether there is war or peace, a sure day of reckoning awaits the Fascist economies and those who have driven them to the brink of ruin.



## 5. *The Expansion of Trade Unions*

### SOVIET RUSSIA

A FAR larger proportion of workers in Soviet Russia are members of trade unions than in any other country. Out of a working population of 28,000,000 eligible for membership, about 25,000,000 belong to one of the 166 different unions. Membership is voluntary.

Labor protection is more highly developed in the U. S. S. R. than anywhere else in the world. A seven-hour day has been the rule in industry, with a six-hour day for some forms of heavier labor. In 1940, however, owing to the war danger, the working day was generally lengthened by one hour. And other measures were enacted to stimulate production.

While Soviet industries are publicly owned, the trade unions carry on regular collective bargaining with the managements of factories and other enterprises over wages, hours, and working conditions.

Since in a socialist society economic well-being and security of every individual is a universally acknowledged right and since the old classes, together with the class struggle, have been done away with, there is no great difficulty in arriving at satisfactory trade union agreements.

Hence the Soviet trade unions are free to put much of their energy into educational and administrative work. Thus they have full responsibility for social insurance benefits which so substantially supplement wage income in the U. S. S. R. And they are active in various community enterprises such as maintenance of factory restaurants and recreation and cultural centers.



## 5. *The Destruction of Trade Unions*

### NAZI GERMANY

ONE of the first steps which the Nazi regime took was to destroy the trade unions, root and branch. This is due to the fact that the individual employer under fascism wishes to be able to exploit the workers according to his own free, profit-motivated will; and to the fact that the state, representing the dominant business groups as a whole, wishes to go ahead with its armament and aggression programs unhampered by any sort of opposition from the working class.

In place of the old trade unions, most of whose leaders are dead or in concentration camps, Hitler and his followers have set up fake workers' organizations with control from the top down and with democratic procedures as completely absent as in the nation at large.

The Nazi dictatorship, furthermore, has destroyed not only the trade unions, but *all* types of political, economic and cultural organizations that offered any possibility of united resistance on the part of the people to totalitarian rule.

Increased speed-up and under-nourishment since the war began have brought German workers to a point of exhaustion that has meant a rapid deterioration in production. Immediately after the war began, the working day was lengthened from eight hours to ten, which is exceeded in some industries. War time wages are lower than pre-war and prices of necessities higher. It is estimated that the state automatically takes 29 per cent of workers' wages through deductions made by the employer. Cultural opportunities are practically nil.



## 6. *The Emancipation of Women*

### SOVIET RUSSIA

IT was Lenin who said that no nation can be free until a whole half of the population, "the working woman, enjoys equal rights with men and until she is no longer kept a slave by her household and family." This idea has become a basic principle in the Soviet Union and has been written into the Constitution as follows: "Women in the U. S. S. R. are accorded equal rights with men in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social, and political life. The realization of these rights of women is ensured by affording women equally with men the right to work, payment for work, rest, social insurance and education; and by state protection of the interests of mother and child, pregnancy leave with pay, and the provision of a wide network of maternity homes, nurseries and kindergartens."

It is significant that 38 per cent of the students in Soviet higher educational institutions are of the female sex; and that as of 1940, 20 per cent of the deputies in the All-Union Supreme Congress of Soviets were women as compared with 2 per cent in the British House of Commons and 1 per cent in the U. S. Congress.

Meanwhile the rising living standards in Soviet Russia as well as the growing limitations on domestic drudgery and male tyranny have served to strengthen the unity of the home and to make its life richer and more harmonious.

Soviet women have continued to function splendidly in all sorts of defense work since the Nazi invasion began; and have been able, because of their previous opportunities and training, to take over millions of jobs in field and factory formerly performed by men called to the front.



## 6. *The Degradation of Women*

### NAZI GERMANY

IN Nazi Germany there has been a decided intensification of the traditional view of the ruling class male that women are inferior beings and fit only for the well-known trinity of "Kuche, Kirche, Kinder" (Kitchen, Church, Children). Family life centers around the needs and desires of the male partner and the breeding of children to augment the fighting man-power of the war-making state. The fascist dictators, while crying out one day that their people are being suffocated from lack of space, urge on the next the bearing of more and more children, so that their governments can proceed with further blackmail on the specious plea of "over-population."

At the same time women are dismissed or barred from all important governmental posts and are automatically paid lower wages than men in the limited types of positions open to them. Women are literally regarded as cattle, and used for breeding purposes or slave labor as the Nazis require. It is compulsory for all unmarried women under 25 and for all women wishing to enter general employment to put in a year of labor service on farms or in households.

The declining living standards and terrific tensions under fascism naturally react adversely on the home, as the material and psychological prerequisites for wholesome domestic life contract and wither away. And every family looks forward with dread to the fateful day when the name of a beloved son or father appears on the Fuehrer's mounting lists of dead and wounded—at this writing well over the six-million mark.



## 7. *An Unprecedented Advance of Culture*

### SOVIET RUSSIA

CULTURAL expansion and development in Soviet Russia have gone hand in hand with material progress and have been just as striking. The ultimate goal in the U. S. S. R. is to build, upon the foundations of economic security and equilibrium, a culture of Socialist Humanism unequalled in both qualitative achievement and the proportion of the people participating as creators and sharers.

Art and literature, drama and music, no longer the private property of a small minority at the top, have become the possession of the entire Soviet people. Illiteracy has decreased to about 17 per cent of the population as compared with the more than 70 per cent figure of 1913; the number of children in primary and secondary schools has increased from 8,000,000 to 30,000,000, and the total students in a greatly expanded system of higher educational institutions has grown five times over. As of 1938 there were 550,000 such students in the Soviet Union as compared with an aggregate of 416,000 in the comparable institutions of Britain, France, Germany, Italy and Japan put together.

One of the main aims of Soviet education is to break down the age-long separation between theory and practice; to turn out citizens of the new society who "act as men of thought" and "think as men of action." Recent stress on vocational training and guidance and the opening of the State Labor Reserve Schools, which train 800,000 youths a year in highly skilled jobs, is an important factor in achieving this end. This has accompanied the establishment of limited tuition fees in higher education to increase the general fund for education. This step



## 7 *The Debasement of Culture*

### NAZI GERMANY

THE retrogression of culture in book-burning, art-killing, genius-banishing Nazi Germany is a truism of this era. The crisis in economic and political affairs is naturally reflected in the cultural realm. As more and more economic resources and human energies of the nation go into the preparation and waging of war, less and less is available for cultural activities. From 116,154 university students in Germany in 1932-33, there was a decline to 67,082 in 1936-37, and to 53,753 in 1937-38, representing a loss of 42.2 per cent of the student body for 1936-37 and of 53.7 per cent for 1937-38.

In Nazi Germany there is hardly one outstanding world figure in art or literature who has not fled the country, been exiled or thrown into prison. It goes without saying that there is no place in Hitler's Reich for the numerous German artists and writers of note who are of Jewish origin. And the Nazi "civilizers" ban even the work of Jews long dead, such as the symphonies of Mendelssohn and the poems of Heine.

Under fascism the whole of education from the tenderest years to the more mature, from physical training to reading in the classics, is turned into the glorification of military conquest and the attuning of mind and body to the ferocities of war. The finer qualities of youth as well as those of maturity are hitched to the bloody chariot of conquest; and the appreciation of nature is transformed into a study of military strategy in open country.

Since Nazism is anti-democratic in its very essence, there is no room where it rules for such a thing as cultural democracy. The masses of the people are viewed as innately inferior and



has served to increase scholarship standards since stipends are continued for those with higher grades, and in practice has led to a further expansion of educational facilities.

The Third Five-Year Plan aims to make formal education compulsory for everyone up to eighteen, an advance unique among the nations of the world. The cultural awakening has extended to tens of millions of formerly ignorant and illiterate peasants as well as to the once backward minority groups. The masses of the Soviet people have become voracious readers, with newspapers, magazines, pamphlets and books being printed and circulated in billions of copies. In 1938, the Soviet Union published 40,000 titles with a circulation of 692,700,000. Books are published in more than 70 languages of the peoples of the Soviet Union, thus indicating to what a large extent special efforts are made on behalf of the different national and racial minorities. Ten day festivals of the arts of the different Soviet peoples have been outstanding features of the cultural season in the nation's capital.

## NAZI GERMANY

incapable of developing the mental capacity or aesthetic sense to appreciate the higher intellectual and artistic pursuits. In contrast with the Soviet aim of bringing to flower all the best possibilities of the individual and encouraging a many-sided personality, the fascists subordinate every skill and potentiality of their people to the belligerent designs of the state.

Thomas Mann, introducing Erika Mann's "School for Barbarians," wrote:

"Is it not indeed a pathetic delusion, that a people who have put themselves or been put in the position of the German people today could ever conquer anything? A people intellectually debased and impoverished, morally degraded—and they expect to conquer the earth! . . . It is an open secret that German science is deteriorating, that Germany is falling behind in all the domains of the intellect. The process will go irresistibly on, it will be irretrievably consummated in fact, if the sort of people who have the say today are given enough time to put into execution their malignant program of national 'fitness'."



## 8. *Science in the Service of the People*

### SOVIET RUSSIA

THE most basic educational aim of all in the Soviet Union is to teach the people the facts and methods of modern experimental science. In every sphere of activity and in every part of the country scientific truths and procedures are replacing the superstitions of old-time religion and of outworn social-economic theory. The number of professional scientists has gone up from 3,000 to 40,000 since tsarist days.

The system of socialist planning turns the whole nation into one huge laboratory in which, because of the central controls, scientific experiments of unparalleled scope can be carried on. Soviet science is geared to the service of the people and does not have a prior obligation to the cause of profit, war or anything else. At the same time Soviet scientists are thoroughly awake to the need of "pure" research more or less remote from immediate utilitarian pressures. Outstanding achievements of Soviet science are the magnificent, countrywide system of public health, the exploration of the Arctic regions and the non-stop airplane flights to the North American continent.

The philosophical counterpart of Soviet science is the Marxist philosophy of Dialectical Materialism, which has a world-view opposed to all supernaturalism and one that offers the individual an inclusive and integrated way of life.



## 8. *Science Perverted to the Uses of War and Racism*

### NAZI GERMANY

GERMAN science, once unrivalled in the entire world, has sunk under the reign of Adolf Hitler to the status of humble hand-maiden to the gods of war and the Goebbelses of racist propaganda. In the important field of industrial technique and invention fascist science in all the totalitarian countries is primarily concerned with speeding up and making more efficient the machine of aggression. In Nazi Germany one of the chief aims of scientific activity is to discover ways and means of making ever more numerous *ersatz* goods, that is, substitute products for the genuine article which can no longer be manufactured because the necessary materials have been commandeered for military purposes or cut off on account of the war blockade.

The sciences of biology, psychology and sociology must all prove the mystic Nazi doctrine of pure and impure races, of the superiority of "Aryans," of the all-decisive influence of heredity and the unimportance of environment. The result is a pseudo-scientific mumbo-jumbo on a level with the eerie superstitions of the most primitive tribe.

The fascists in general retain the misleading, compensatory myths of supernaturalism. Those of them who turn against Christian theory substitute for it ancient tribal superstition like the Wotan-worship of certain Nazi elements.



## 9. *Evolution Toward Fullest Democracy*

### SOVIET RUSSIA

THE Soviet Republic has always considered political dictatorship as a transitional measure necessary for the firm establishment of socialism in a country emerging from a backward past and from an absolute autocracy in which practically no genuine democratic institutions existed. The Soviet dictatorship disappears as the need for it disappears. As Joseph Stalin has said, "Leaders come and go, but the people remain. Only the people are immortal. Everything else is transient."

The new Soviet Constitution of 1936 reflected the immense progress that had been made in laying the necessary economic and cultural foundations of democracy. The epoch-making "Rights of Man" in this Constitution promises to all Soviet citizens employment at fair wages, ample leisure, and material security in sickness and old age. The Constitution makes clear that the socialist concept of democracy covers the significant categories of economic, cultural, sex and racial democracy. In addition, it gives the franchise to all persons of both sexes eighteen years of age or more; and guarantees by law freedom of religious worship, of speech, of the press, of assembly and of street demonstrations.

The Soviet Union has introduced a number of new democratic forms which implement the law. Through shop meetings and wall newspapers, the Soviet citizen exercises his democratic rights at the place where he works; through tenants' meetings at the place where he lives. Through production and planning conferences he takes part in the democratic control of expanding



## 9. *Democracy Considered "A Putrid Corpse"*

### NAZI GERMANY

MUSSOLINI'S statement that democracy is "a putrid corpse" can be taken as expressing accurately the fascist attitude toward the democratic way of life. The fascists intend that their dictatorship should go on forever; Hitler talks of the Nazi form of government lasting at least a thousand years. And in fascist theory there is no thought of, or provision for, an ultimate transition to democracy.

As the totalitarian states mature and their political forms crystallize, they become increasingly undemocratic and anti-democratic in nature, stamping out more and more completely all elements and organizations which might serve as a rallying point for democratic expression and action. This is why the Nazis have constantly violated religious freedom and borne down heavily on both Protestants and Catholics, throwing thousands of ministers and priests into jail. No one can possibly take seriously Saint Adolf's claim that in waging war against the U. S. S. R., where the Greek Orthodox Church is holding services throughout the land in support of the Soviet armies, he is conducting a Holy Crusade to save Christianity and religion.

The Nazis are so bent on stamping out the idea of democracy that they consider the existence of democratic governments in other lands an intolerable menace and only slightly less deplorable than Bolshevism itself. Hence they wish to bring about the downfall of the democracies, not only in order to redive their territories, but also to suppress all traces of the democratic ideal in the world.



production and improving quality. Members of the collective farms plan their own activities and choose the farm management. Through numerous cultural organizations the people mold their culture and art. And they subject Soviet life in general and their own work in particular to constant criticism and self-criticism.

As the Webbs say in their "Soviet Communism: A New Civilization":

"It is impossible to enumerate all the channels, and it would be difficult to exaggerate the extent, of the participation in public affairs of the Soviet electorate. . . ."

## NAZI GERMANY

It is significant to note that Nazi Germany not only has no constitution, but tore up the advanced and progressive Weimar Constitution of the post-war Republic.

Hitler fully revealed his purpose to the Reich Commissioners on July 6, 1933 when he said: ". . . We must now get rid of the last remains of democracy, especially the methods of voting and of the decisions by the majority, such as still often occur in the communes, in economic organizations and in working committees. . . ."



## 10. *A Nation in Which Civilization Moves Steadily Ahead*

### SOVIET RUSSIA

EMERGING from a backward, semi-feudal economy in which 85 per cent of the population were backward, primitive-minded peasants, from a tsarist dictatorship outstanding in reaction, inefficiency and corruption, and from eight devastating years of the Great War, civil war, intervention and famine all combined, the Soviet people have built, in a little more than two decades, a new and promising civilization based on socialist foundations in economics and culture. This socialist society is certainly no Utopia, and it has a long distance to go in many respects. But its main problems are those of growth and not decay. And unquestionably in the ways that we call *civilized* the Soviet Union continues to forge steadily ahead.

## 10. *A Nation Which Moves Civilization Steadily Backward*

### NAZI GERMANY

THROUGHOUT most of Europe the Nazis have set back the clock of history and plunged the people into a new Dark Age. Hitlerism decrees the end of almost everything that civilized men hold dear. It means unceasing violence, in both domestic and foreign affairs; it means war and imperialism and the roar of bombers overhead; it means the erection of racial and national prejudice into a major principle of government; it means the death of democracy and labor's rights, of civil liberties and academic freedom; it means the burning of the books and the degradation of culture; it means a decline in living standards and the permanence of economic crisis. Unquestionably, under fascism, in its every variety, civilization goose-steps steadily backward.



## CONCLUSION

THIS concludes our analysis of the chief differences in practice and aim between Soviet Socialism and German fascism. To sum up, Soviet Russia differs from Nazi Germany in standing for the ideal of international peace and cooperation; in advocating and putting into effect a free brotherhood of peoples; in being a completely socialized economy run for use and not for profit; in planning a system of security and abundance for its entire population; in strengthening and expanding the trade unions; in emancipating woman; in advancing art and culture; in furthering science on behalf of the people; in evolving toward fullest democracy; and in making steady progress in the most fundamental aspects of civilization.

In today's armed conflict between Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany there are, then, clearly involved many of those basic issues that mean so much to Americans and other democratic peoples. As Prime Minister Churchill said in one of his magnificent speeches: "The Russian danger is our danger and the danger of the United States, just as the cause of any Russian fighting for his hearth and home is the cause of free men and free people in every quarter of the globe." This is why the British Government as well as the various governments-in-exile of the Nazi-conquered countries have made mutual assistance pacts with Soviet Russia and definitely declared it an ally in the struggle to crush Hitler and Hitlerism.

For America, too, especially since it has become involved in outright war with Germany, Italy and Japan, the Soviet Union is a full-fledged partner in the world-wide battle against fascism. Furthermore, American-Soviet cooperation must continue after the defeat of the Axis powers in order to deal successfully with those great problems of international reconstruction that will then face the whole of mankind. This time America and its Allies, including Soviet Russia, must win the peace as well as the war.



# SUGGESTED READING

## *On the Soviet Union*

### MISSION TO MOSCOW

by Joseph E. Davies  
*Simon and Schuster, New York*

### THE SOVIETS EXPECTED IT

by Anna Louise Strong  
*The Dial Press, New York*

### HITLER CANNOT CONQUER RUSSIA

by Maurice Hindus  
*Doubleday Doran, New York*

### ALL OUT ON THE ROAD TO SMOLENSK

by Erskine Caldwell  
*Duell, Sloan and Pearce, New York*

### LENINISM, in 2 Volumes

by Joseph Stalin  
*International Publishers, New York*

### YOU MIGHT LIKE SOCIALISM

by Corliss Lamont  
*Modern Age Books, N. Y.*

### IN PLACE OF PROFIT

by Harry F. Ward  
*Charles Scribner's Sons, N. Y.*

### WOMAN IN SOVIET RUSSIA WOMEN IN THE SOVIET EAST

by Fannina Halle  
*Both published by E. P. Dutton, N. Y.*

### LENIN ON THE WOMAN QUESTION (Pamphlet)

by Clara Zetkin  
*International Publishers, N. Y.*

### BATTLE FOR THE WORLD

by Max Werner  
*Modern Age Books, N. Y.*

### LIGHT ON MOSCOW MUST THE WAR SPREAD?

by D. N. Pritt  
*Both published by Penguin Books, N. Y.*

WAR AND PEACE IN FINLAND:  
A DOCUMENTED SURVEY (Pamphlet)  
*Soviet Russia Today, N. Y.*

### WORLD POLITICS, 1918-1936

by R. Palme Dutt  
*International Publishers*

### THE NEW LITHUANIA (Pamphlet)

by Anna Louise Strong  
*Workers Library Publishers, N. Y.*

### SOVIET COMMUNISM: A NEW CIVILIZATION (Second Edition)

by Beatrice and Sidney Webb  
*Charles Scribner's Sons, N. Y.*

### THE SOVIET POWER

by Hewlett Johnson (Dean of Can-  
terbury)  
Regular edition and abridged tabloid  
edition  
*International Publishers, N. Y.*

### THE SOVIETS

by Albert Rhys Williams  
*Harcourt Brace & Co., N. Y.*

### THE NEW SOVIET CONSTITUTION

by Anna Louise Strong  
*Henry Holt & Co., N. Y.*

### RUSSIA WITHOUT ILLUSIONS

by Pat Sloan  
*Modern Age Books, Inc., N. Y.*

### LAND OF THE SOVIETS

by Nicholas Mikhailov  
*Lee Furman, Inc., N. Y.*

### CHANGING MAN

by Beatrice King  
*The Viking Press, N. Y.*

### THE GROWING PROSPERITY OF THE SOVIET UNION (Pamphlet)

Report on 1940-41 Plans by Voznesensky  
*Workers Library Publishers, N. Y.*



SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY (*monthly*),  
114 E. 32nd St., N. Y.  
Index available on request

THE AMERICAN REVIEW ON THE  
SOVIET UNION (*bi-monthly*)  
RUSSIA AT WAR  
Bulletin on the Soviet Union (*weekly*)  
*Both published by American Russian  
Institute, 56 W. 45th St., N. Y.*

## *On Nazi Germany*

BERLIN DIARY  
by William L. Shirer  
*Alfred A. Knopf, New York*

MEIN KAMPF  
*Reynal and Hitchcock, New York*

THE EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY  
OF NATIONAL SOCIALISM  
by George F. Kneller  
*Yale University Press, New Haven*

THE SPOIL OF EUROPE  
by Thomas Reveille  
*W. W. Norton, N. Y.*

SCHOOL FOR BARBARIANS  
by Erika Mann  
*Modern Age Books, N. Y.*

THE SPIRIT AND STRUCTURE OF  
GERMAN FASCISM  
by Robert A. Brady  
*Viking Press, N. Y.*

BETRAYAL IN CENTRAL EUROPE  
by G. E. R. Gedyé  
*Harper & Bros., N. Y.*

THE NEW INQUISITION  
by Konrad Heiden  
*Modern Age Books, N. Y.*

GERMANY PUTS THE CLOCK  
BACK (*Revised 1939 Edition*)  
by Edgar Ansel Mowrer  
*William Morrow, N. Y.*

THE NAZI DICTATORSHIP  
by Frederick L. Schuman  
*Alfred A. Knopf, N. Y.*

THROUGH EMBASSY EYES  
by Martha Dodd  
*Harcourt Brace & Co., N. Y.*

THEY WANTED WAR  
by Otto D. Tolischus  
*Reynal & Hitchcock, Inc., N. Y.*

THE GERMAN REICH AND AMERI-  
CANS OF GERMAN ORIGIN  
*Oxford University Press, N. Y.*

THE WAR AGAINST THE WEST  
by Aurel Kolnai  
*Viking Press, N. Y.*

LUNACY BECOMES US  
by Adolf Hitler and His Associates  
Edited by Clara Leiser  
*Liveright, N. Y.*

# *The Program of The American Council On Soviet Relations*

From its inception in 1938 the Council has had the general aim of fostering mutual understanding and cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union and of informing the American people about life in the Soviet Union. This basic purpose requires a constantly developing program directed to the immediate situation.

Today, the American Council on Soviet Relations holds that its basic purpose requires the following program of action:

1. The immediate opening of a Second Front in Europe.
2. An immediate declaration of war against Finland: on the grounds that Finland is clearly under fascist domination, is serving as a base from which attacks are launched upon American seamen and shipping, and is waging war against our Soviet ally.
3. Trade union unity between the organized labor movements of the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union.
4. A systematic presentation of facts to the American people about the Soviet Union so as to build confidence in our Soviet ally, both in war and in peace.

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THE AMERICAN COUNCIL ON SOVIET RELATIONS

112 East 19th Street

New York, N. Y.





